

2: Fulop

SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/For the text of various Tucano myths and folk-tales, see category 116, pp. 1-41./

3: Fulop

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/For the text of the Tucano myth entitled "The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean", see category 116,
pp. 8-49, 54./

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Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/", the "defoliation of the açaf /assai/", song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

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The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

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Pe. Antônio Giaccone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the tuxáua sings as follows:

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"márf búxkōrá, márf paxkō-s'ōmōá baxsesé duhf-wéspāra,

yōō ná pōrá uhú duhf, uhú duhf weyá, máxsā yōō pōra";

that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

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The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule, the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

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776 b) Tamanduaí is a locality situated on the bank of the
823 Rio Negro, in an elevated position, with the bank forming a
barrier or slope. They affirm that in the vicinity of this point,
but deep in the water, is located the city of the wai maxsaí.

776 They tell that, a few years ago, a woman lived on the
bank opposite Tamanduaí. Soon after delivery, against the
• 539 traditional prescriptions, she cooked and ate cará /yams,
823 Dioscorea/. Later, upon going to the landing place, she saw
there a young man, who asked her: -- Why are you there? --
I want to go away, the woman said to him, because my husband
is very rough and often hits me. -- Come with me, the man
invited her. And he took her into the water. There, in the
depths, she saw that there was a large city with pretty houses,
factories of thirst (1) /Port. fábricas de sede/, and also gardens
and forest. She stayed there, living with this young man.
On a certain day, she told him: -- I am longing for my son,
I am going to get him. The young man took her out of the
water. She was covered with algae. She washed herself well,
went to her own house, prepared milk (1) for the son. Then
the husband asked her: -- Where have you been all this time?
It has been a week since you went away. She, however, did
not answer him. On the following day she took her child and
went to the landing place, went into the river, and did not
return again. She remained as wife of the young wai maxsaí
man.

c) We further heard another episode told about Tamanduaí.
A young man from the Uaupés, settled in Tamanduaí (and
there are many who, /362/ searching for better lands, leave
the Uaupés and go to settle in this region of the Rio Negro), left
one day to go fishing. He was going down along a large beach.
At a certain moment he saw, at the edge of the nearby forest,
a very pretty hammock, and, sitting in the hammock, a blonde
girl, very beautiful, with a child in her arms and singing in
order to put the child to sleep. The youth paid attention to
the harmonious song and could hear that is said: -- "I am

776 /362 cont./

- 539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"...., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the
hammock were sucuruju /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl
appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for
you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
787 the Mission of Taracua dreamed at night that she had amorous
relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she
went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throw-
ing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have
relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the
ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She
even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/: e/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
[115] mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle
[222] eggs on a beach near Pinu-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl
companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty
initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many
eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with
a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little
later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had
disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that
the wai maxsa had stolen her daughter: "wai maxsa mba-wapa,
yoo maxkô-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

*[192]

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of
the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should
never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places,
they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the
old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and
whining child.

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[115]

Here is one of these elegies (87).

87. It has been furnished to us by the
Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi.

Paxkó uxtígo
the mother who mourns

Yöö max-kô! yöö max-kô! yöö max-kô!
o my son! my son! my son!

Derowégo yöö döxpörö wē'ritohati mää!
why I before not die you?
MÄÄ añũ-buxtyágö, tuxtágö nitohapö.
you very good (handsome), strong were.

MÄÄ yöö yukése. yöö ekatise, yöö maisé-mëra.
you my hope, my joy, my love-also (you were).
MÄÄ dyápo-a-ré, yöö i'ásomé, mää buhisé-ré,
your face, I shall not see, your smile,

MÄÄ böxsösé-ré töosomé!
your voice I shall not hear!

De'ró mää marisé-mëra a'té nāxkā-pö, a'té dyá-pö?
how you without (also shall I live) in these forests, on these rivers?

A'té wi'i-pö ÿa'a-buxtyasé-mëra kaxti-maxsisari?
in this house so sad to live will I be able?

MÄÄ maigö oxkó-ré, pexká-më-ré yöö-ré axpo-yügö.
you lovingly water, fire for me prepared.

MÄÄ pax-kö wē'rise-re nāxkātise-re darétohapa.
of your father the death not heavy you made for me.

MÄÄ yöö-ré wai-re dyá-pö-ré oögö.
you for me fish from the river brought.

MÄÄ nāxkā-pö yuxkó-döxká-ré oögö
you from the forest the fruits brought.

MÄÄ marisé-mëra yéé-ré we: bósari?
you without what thing shall I do (now)?

ö'mā-kori nāxkā uxtígo, mää-mëra maxsā-pé-pö sooséré.
the days all to weep, with you in the grave to rest.

Yöö max-kô! yöö max-kô! yöö max-kô!
o my son! my son! my son!

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1. Song-dance with the rhythm tube, ahŋ-wō; 1st part (129):

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129. We have tried to be quite accurate in the re-production of the sounds. According to what seemed to follow from the pronunciation of Júlio, we separated the words and differentiated the verses. It might be that some separation has been the fault of the singer. And they commit it many times, taking a breath or breathing unduly between articulations that should be connected, and vice versa. We have verified, with singers from other places, even though they repeat Júlio's melody, that there is not perfect agreement with the articulated sounds that we publish here. This fact should not be surprising, if we recall that they learn by hearing and that the articulated sounds are without meaning. When one pays close attention, it is noted that in the same dance there is not strict agreement among the dancers. A little difference in the beat and discrepancy in the articulated sounds are observed.

Yá, yá, kapikwá

Yaká perí kapikwá

Nuyaká perí

Dwiká perí deyú deyú ayá

I iroyê.

Mā i-i, i-i-i (final whistle) (he explained that the whistle is to indicate that he is about to finish)

2nd part

Mā-ri-á i-i-i (whistle)

Dê-yá ya-yô mari

Ikawê yo

Yóa mari ikawê yô

Yô mari ikawê dyakó

Dyakú i-i

Yô yô yô mari

Kawê mari i-i-i (whistle)

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3rd part

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Mā i-i, i-i-i (whistle)
 Yêê marwê kaná
 Kawá do mariwí akawó-ro
 Mariwí mariwí akawó-ro
 Yê mariwí a-a-a akawó inawé
 A mariwí a-a-a akawó inawé
 Yuú kawá inawé
 Yuú kawá inawé uu uu
 Marí marí
 Marí akawá inawé marí i-i-i (whistle)

2. Song-dance with the yaxsã (large maracá)
 Êê-yá êêyá má

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Dyaká a pi kapi
 Wamá kapi kapi yuamá
 Ya marí wemá a-a kapi kapi
 Ya kapi nemá yá wamá
 Kapi kapi nemá ya wamá
 Ye kapi kapi nemá wamá
 Ey-á ey-á (whistle)

3. Song-dance with the yaxsã in the other dances (outside the poosé)

Dyá yá i-i-i dyá yá i-i-i
 Yé a marikêna
 Mariwé mariwé ya mariwé
 Marikenô ka-yá yá
 Marikenô mariwé marikenô mariwé
 Mariwé mariwé mariwé
 Marikenô ka-yá (he lowers his voice, very low sounds)
 Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i
 Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i (he observes to us that this song ends with-
 out whistles)

4. Song-dance with the rhythm stick, yuxkô

Yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
 Yê kapitê
 Marí kwá yá kuyá-yari
 Kapitê marí kwá yakoró yalima

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Koró dikúya ayá kwá-yari
Kapité mari apinā
Kapité mari kapité mari kuyá-yá kuya-ari
Kapité mari kuyá-yá yá yá-yá (whistle)

5. Song-dance with the yuxkō (130)

130. These sounds Perikuli (7th) and kwai (5th) are precisely the names of the principal personages of the Arwáke legends, corresponding, respectively, to Būxpó and O'ā-kō of the Tukano legends. Would it be a mere coincidence of sounds in different languages? Would they be Arwáke songs learned by the tribes of the Tukano group? Might all the dances of these tribes be of Arwáke origin?

Yá yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
E yá yá perikú éé perikwé
Yaká yō kayó yuai
Yá piré-ku-li nomé-nō
Perikwé pyaká wamé tyá
Pamí kwai peri-dikú éé yó
Peri-ku-li yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)

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6. Song-dance with the yuxkō

Ma dyá pa-wō (whistle)
Dyá diká apyá kapi akapyá
Kapi pawí diká yukú kapyá
Kapyá dewá yukú
Wapyá yukú deyé-wé
Kapyá kapi pawí dewá yukú
Kapyá kapi pawí dewá jukú
Wapi-a yukú nomā-a yavi
Wapi yá yú mā-dí-yá
Wapi yá yú mā-dí-yá
Sawé sawé (whistle)

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7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)

Mā-ā-ā. Eyarí mamā eyarí mamā kapinā

Perikū yaví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)

Davyá yaví

Daví kawá-á nomā yaví-nó

Daví kawá yaú; daví kawá yaú.

Kapinā perikūli

Davyá yaví yú

Kawá-yavyá mā-ā-ā (he blows the flute at length)

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8. Song-dance with the yaxsā or small maracá

(For example, said Julio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast.

The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)

Yē-ē dyá yakē mari

Kemē maryé-é

Kemē maryé-é kenani

Wekā-ni kená amýá

Wekā kená maryé pyá

Kená yá maryé

Wekā-ne ma-yá axpekā ané

Wekā-re kenani wekā-re

Kená tše! tšá!

(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

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a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxáua /397/ Mandú from Lauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

Mandú (131)

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131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

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(432)

(186)

day the *Bordwa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals. Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*medhamdírwa yaváurú*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

pu'ntewú — the people came out

tráncawwa — and shed (their anaconda skins)

hahdami — they went forward

wari borikapinda — the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)

opéko tamáwa — crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])

emintakori — the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)

kanurúbo — (a hill named after the *kánuku* tree) and the rapids of four channels

bwúhúrukúwú — the rock where *Bwú* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwú*)

bydinkwe — the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)

kwábebo — the place of *Kwáku* (a name in the *Hekénewa* genealogies)

borikabo — the place of *Borikakú* (a name in the *Hekénewa* genealogies — it means the aracú fish)

opéko tawú — the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakú* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)

nahó pudúwa — the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)

bwútaunrú — the tree beneath which *Bwú* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwú* passed beneath it)

bwútaunrú — the tree beneath which *Bwú* passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)

wakón — the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

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- tarayvikun* – the river bank of the jaguar (a jaguar tried to climb the high bank and failed; an Ancient came along and the jaguar, frightened, dashed into a tree, where it became transfixed)
- nyukahemekun* – the beach of the kumari plant (there was a kumari [nyuka] bush here; an Ancient cut it down and it turned to sand)
- popobuinawü* – the place of the war club (an Ancient arrived here to drink and met one of his own kinsmen; they quarreled and the Ancient killed his kinsman with his war club [popobü])
- opiko tavi* – the milk of the tree (a reference to a place when an Ancient passed among the others a small calabash of palm milk)
- opiko hyäwü* – (the name of a rock where they paused again to drink milk)
- opiko tanhüru* – the whirlpool of milk (a reference to a rapids, the place of white waters)
- hurübu* – the place of the dove (a rapids where a dove flying by fell and turned into a rock)
- turubokun* – (the name of a beach where there were many small fish)
- mamiüwa* – the rock of the amari tree
- manuhapindo* – (a reference to the part of the rock that projects into the river [hapindo])
- nehükuwa waibóhateni kriwü* – there the Ancients crossed to the other side to live
- horóbotabü* – they made pottery vessels
- ipikarekü waibuhateni kridameda* – they crossed a hill and there they lived
- ipikareda hanhankenaku* – the hill of the hán han bird (a fish-catching bird)
- opiko kéndkuna* – milk of the mountain of rock (a rocky outcrop where they paused to drink milk)
- hanhánatakuwe* – the place where the hán hán played (the name of a rock)
- marukubo* – the rock of the marúku monkey (they killed this monkey and it turned into a rock)
- nahóterarerakun* – the high bank with the great round eyes (when one of the Ancients saw this place he looked at it with huge round eyes of astonishment)
- emuni dani* – they came upriver
- wainitenimeda* – they passed
- wanindona* – the narrow passage of the wanindo spume
- pidári hwaibo* – the burrow of *pidári* (a reference to a place at the headwaters of the wanindo creek where the water is as black as *pidári* [a dark liquid formed when manioc is left in the water to decay]; here an Ancient made a burrow such as an animal makes and in it left the calabash of milk as a cache)
- mahanoka pidári kóbo* – in the forest of *pidári* he made the cache
- opéko mand emendani* – at the milk trail he went out of the river
- kriwü mdakaraka* – to live on a high hill
- pindó kavdrebo* – the bend of *kavdrebo* (a rock at the mouth of the Cuduiari where it enters the Vaupés)
- kwiótótedo* – (a lake near Urania on the Vaupés)
- kwiótóteku* – (the sandy beach of that name)

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- nyemi hwaínéndi – (the place name for what is now Mitú, the capital of the Comisaría del Vaupés)
- opéko tokóve – the small stream of milk (a creek that was then pure milk but is now only water)
- dyaridú – the slippery rock
- tuwáru hívéda – the stream of blood (hiw, a reference to waters that run red)
- toténkríbú bekédowa – there the Ancients arrived to stay
- putowaníméda – there they explored upriver
- nénbudja – and then back
- nond hívédera – to hívéda
- kempaiméda – they returned
- opéko havéteni – they drank milk
- húwú opéko – the cold milk
- tankú wena pínnítani – the rapids where they emerged
- danáni híwú – they came to live
- opéko teribobú – where the waters were like milk
- kenánhaméda – the lake of kenáhume (yellow clay used in dyeing the ceremonial ligatures; the lake is just above Santa Marta)
- namúkoribana – the place of the namúkoriba fish (near the mouth of the Cuduiari)
- towándaiméda – they reached
- wainitanidaiméda – and then they passed
- opéko horókena – an urn of milk (a reference to water that looked like milk, i.e., a rapids)
- xuikopwiméda – they came upon
- nehduwékemana – their in-laws
- pwú nehóitaro – and already at the creek of grease (a reference to its waters, which were then pure grease)
- kerarú kemódakiporu – the place of the closed-off creek (a site above Garaffo Lake)
- nohíva paipibú – above them the whirlpool of Guani
- pwú heniharína – and the fast black waters
- apya bepóra – the whirlpool of the tree trunk
- hivikapundwú – (a place name)
- makavikú – the place of parrots' wings
- hubókiporú – they portaged overland
- pwú mavókobe – and quickly arrived at
- birido búpékú – the place of the búpékú butterflies
- pedmbú – the lake shaped like a *prambo* (a container for curare)
- djútuna moró – the place of the many grubs (a reference to a thick mass of grubs they found and cooked into a stew)
- miauíkú tonwéndo – the high bank where the water rushes with a sucking sound
- mumúkú – the place of the tangle of roots
- yavikénamú – the house of the jaguars (a reference to their having encountered many jaguars here)
- mahópanwa waríndo – (a place name)
- waniketawú – the place of the *tdwú* fish (a reference to fish that resembled *tdwú*, bark-cloth masks worn in mourning ceremonies)

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- mimikūtundu* — the creek of the *mimikū* bird
unenýkūbo — the place of the pupunha trees
 [Then they began to return and they came to]
wakūdjarí — (a creek named after the *wakūdjarí* fruit)
tcipedikoriba — (a place name)
tcipéú taváno — (a place name)
púwēdjaribú — the slippery place
kenóha mutútu — the bank of the yellow clay
tuibu — (a place name)
yuparido — (a creek named after a red fish)
venbokutcendu — the hill of the háku fish
hororákipúru — (a place name)
púwánaku — the high bank of mud out of which water seeps
vekúú — the place of the parrots (the present site of the *Bahúkiwa*)
vekúro — the creek of the parrots
namí tavibo — the circle of women (a reference to a circular trench around a house, built by women to ward off enemies)
kuriuatha hutchindu — he untied himself and escaped (a reference to an Ancient who was tied up by enemies during a fight but who untied himself [kurúu háku: to untie oneself] and escaped)
kanyápiha — the place of the sweet potato (*yapíha*)
hwanítya — the creek of the pigs (*hwaní*)
ewuhubo — the lake of the birds
mituave — the bird place
emiteria — the creek of the sweet waters
hurédo — the place of the doves
takaikoriba — the place where the maize grew
yavibú kurábú — the buttocks of the jaguar rock (a reference to a sharp rock upon which an Ancient sat down to rest; the rock penetrated his rectum and killed him)
tevaria — the place of the milk palm
yavihoba — the garden of the jaguar
hamine — the place where the *hamindú* turned to stone
kwinkwíntoto — the place where *Kwínkúú* settled (a reference to an Ancient who decided not to be human and so turned himself back into an anaconda)
viabo munháru — (a place within a creek where there are háku and puño fish)
wari paní — the place of *Wari* (a forest monster, addressed by an Ancient as "in-law" [*paní*])
konéndobo — the hill of the woodpeckers
komóru kenátakwe — the rocky rapids where *Komóru* lived (a reference to a *Bahúkiwa* Ancient)
makapimbo — the parrot beak rock
úbo — the place of *U* (the sloth)
táwú — the place of the bark-cloth trees
udyébo pediwa — the rocks carved with manioc graters (*pediwa*)
namáwa — the place of the deer
kudjapanwa — the place of the small parakeets
Opómbibekú — (a dwarf whose penis was the length of an arm)

hendnokokü — the place of the stone people (a reference to figures of people in stone in the highlands of the Cuduiari)

FREE TRANSLATION

The people came out and shed their anaconda skins. They went on to the place of the star ray rock, where they crossed over the milky waters. They came to the rock where the minnows pass, to the hill called *kanürübo*, and then to the rapids of the four channels. They came to *bwühdrüküwü*, the rock where *Bwü* [Agouti] jumped across the rapids of *byätakwe*, at the place of the pepper plants. They came to the place of *Kiräkü* the Ancient, and then to the place of *Borikakü* the Ancient, at the place where he spilled the milk of the tree as he was drinking it. They came to the place of the worm people, and to the tree across a stream under which *Bwü* pawed. They came to the rock of the jaguar, where an Ancient killed a jaguar and it turned into a rock. They came to the beach of the monkey, where an Ancient killed a monkey and it turned to sand. They came to the river bank of the jaguar, where a jaguar, failing to scale the high bank, took fright at the sight of an Ancient and dashed into a tree, where it became transfixed. They came to the beach of the kumari plant, where an Ancient cut down a kumari bush and it turned to sand. They came to the place of the war club, where an Ancient, coming for a drink of water, met a kinsman. They quarreled and the Ancient clubbed his kinsman to death. They came to the place called "milk of the tree," where an Ancient passed out a calabash of palm tree milk. There, at the rock called "drinking milk," they drank it.

They came to the place of rushing waters, a whirlpool of milk, to the rapids of the dove, where a dove dropped into the water and turned into a rock. They came to the beach of the many small fish, and to the rock where the *amäri* tree grew. They came to the point of the rock, and there the Ancients crossed over to reside. They stopped here and made pottery vessels. Then they crossed a hill and there they resided, at the hill of the *hán han* bird. They paused at the rocky hill of milk, the place where the *hán han* birds played. They came to the rock of the *marüku* monkey, where they killed a *marüku* and it turned into a rock. They came to the high bank which the Ancients looked upon with the rounded eyes of wonderment. They went upriver and they passed through the passage of spume, out into the black waters of *pidäri*, at the head of the *wanindo* creek. Here an Ancient made a burrow and left in it a calabash of milk. At this place, called "the trail of milk," they left the river to reside on a high hill at the bend of *kardrebo* [where the Cuduiari enters the Vaupés]. They went on and came to *kwitótoko*, to *kwitótoko*, and to *nyeml hwaéndi* [where Mitú now stands]. There, at the milky creek, at the slippery rock, at the stream of blood where the waters are reddened by the rays of the sun, there the Ancients arrived and there they lived. From there they explored upriver and then came back to *hivida*.

They returned and drank milk, the cold milk at the rapids from which they had emerged. There they came to live, at the place where the waters were like milk, at the lake of the yellow clay. Then they went on until they came to the place of the *namükoriba* fish [near the mouth of the Cuduiari]. And then they passed a rapids that was like an urn of milk. There they came upon their in-laws. They were already at the greasy creek, at the

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place of the closed-off creek [a site above Garaffo Lake on the Cuduiari]. Above them was the whirlpool of Guasá and the fast black waters. There, at the whirlpool of the tree trunk, at *hivakapundwú*, at the place of parrots' wings, they portaged overland and they quickly arrived at the place of the *bupékú* butterflies, at the lake shaped like a container for curare.

They came to the place of many grubs which they cooked into a stew. They came to the high bank where the water rushes in with a sucking sound, to the place of the tangle of roots. They came to the place of the jaguars, to *mahópanwa warindo*, to the place of the bark-cloth fishes, to the creek of the *mimikú* bird, and then to the place of the *pupunha* trees. From there they returned and they came to the creek of the *wakúdjari* fruit, to *icipédikoriba* and *icipéú lavéno*, and then to the slippery place, and then to the bank of the yellow clay, and then to *tuibú*, where the creek of the red fish is, and then to the hill of the háku fish. Then, at a place called *horordkipúru*, they came to the high bank of mud, and then to the place of the parrots [the present site of the *Bahúkiwa* sib]. At the creek of the parrots they came upon the circular trench called "the circle of women" [because it is the women who dug this trench]. There an Ancient who had been tied up by his enemies managed to free himself and escape. Now they continued up the creek to the place of the sweet potato, and they came to the creek of the wild peccary and then on to the lake of the birds and the bird place.

From there they went up the creek of the sweet waters to the place of the doves. And then they went to the place where maize grew and then to the sharp jaguar rock. Here an Ancient, sitting down on the rock, pierced his rectum and died. They went on to the place of the milk palm, to the garden of the jaguar, to the place where the *hamindú* turned to stone. They came to *kwúnkúntoto*, where *Kwúnkú* the Ancient decided to settle down. [This is the *Bahúkiwa* Ancient who later decided that he did not care to be human and turned himself back into an anaconda.]

The Ancients moved on to the place of the háku and puño fish, to the place of *Ivárí* the in-law, the hill of the woodpeckers, to the rocky rapids where *Komóri* the Ancient settled down, then to the parrot beak rock, then to the place of the sloth, then to the place of the bark-cloth trees, then to the rocks of the manioc graters, then to the place of the deer, and then to the place of the small parakeets, where *Opómbibekú* lived [a dwarf with an enormous penis]. Finally, they went to the place of the stone people [at the head of the Cuduiari].

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TRADITIONAL NAMES IN THE BAHÚKIWA GENEALOGIES

MALE

Aribahákú
Ariénakú
Bahákú
Bahákúbekúdjó
Bahákúdjiten
Bekúbo
Bwú
Hardú

MALE

Kwúnkúwó or
Kwúnkúwú
Miabekudjo
Onpáhena
Onpúenda
Onpúenda
Onpúendabu
Onpúendakú

FEMALE

Bahúko
Hehénabo
Hentako
Hendakusa
Iho
Ihoruko
Kohénenabo
Kohúko

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Kinship

- 539 The focus of Cubeo kinship is the sibling group, of which the
 601 brothers form a permanent body, the hard core, so to speak, and
 the sisters an emotionally close but separable group, since they are the
 ones who marry out. The sibling group is the model for the extension
 of terms of consanguinity throughout the phratry.¹ More people are
 601 addressed and referred to as "sibling" than by any other term. When
 602 the Cubeo speak in Spanish or in Portuguese they identify all their
 age mates within the range of patrilineal consanguinity as "my
 brother" or "my sister." Their own language differentiates degrees of
 sibling closeness, distinguishing lineage brothers, sib brothers, and
 phratry brothers. But the linguistic device for drawing these dis-
 (A3) tinctions, by manipulating prefixes and suffixes without altering the
 stem itself, seems to be a finely contrived compromise between the de-
 sire to embrace all patrilineal consanguineal kin within the bonds of
 brotherhood and the need to deal with the actualities of relation-
 ships. The Cubeo are very sensitive to terms of address and so they
 use terms not merely to designate a precise degree of relationship,
 but diplomatically, to create a mood of closeness or of distance. I
 believe this diplomatic use of kinship draws mainly, perhaps exclu-
 sively, upon the sibling terms, since all other terms of consanguinity
 are by comparison of far lesser significance. A phratry brother may
 be called by the term appropriate for sib or even lineage brother and
 vice versa. When this is done, the speaker indicates by his manner

¹ There is a list of relationship terms at the end of this chapter.

MARRIAGE

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The *Bahikiwa* headman also had had two wives. In his case the second and younger wife succeeded in displacing the older woman. The younger woman insisted that her husband give up sexual relations with his first wife. She bothered him so much that he yielded and told his first wife to leave him. She refused, insisting that she would stay on with her children. An old woman now, she has a grandmother role. A son not yet married has provided her with a small manioc garden. Her relations with the headman and her successor are cool but not unpleasant. That women regard polygyny as contrary to their interests is further indicated by the fact that they are reputed to possess an herb (*pedidya*) which, mixed into a husband's porridge, causes him to lose interest in acquiring a second wife.

Polyandry is rare. I knew of only one case, a man who took his brother into his ménage because the man had been unable to get a wife on his own. This occurred in a small Satellite community and seems to have been an accommodation to what might otherwise have been a troublesome situation of adultery. The woman sed both men and was a sexual partner of the junior husband only when her first husband was away.

Common marital difficulties have their counterpart in Cubeo folklore, as these tales reveal. *Kiwai* the culture hero and his two brothers shared the same woman. When one brother was away fishing or hunting, the other two took turns copulating with her. *Kiwai* plotted to get rid of his brothers so that he would have exclusive possession of her. They were then living at Urania on the Vaupés by a lake called *Marúkuwari* (Lake of the marúku monkey). In this lake grew a great miriti palm. *Kiwai* asked his brothers to climb the tree to fetch a ball of miriti to make a hammock. Both brothers climbed the tree, after warning *Kiwai* not to start anything. As they climbed, *Kiwai* caused the tree to grow higher and higher and the lake to grow wider. When they reached the top, *Kiwai* cut down the tree. Then a great wind blew up and swept the men and the tree away. One brother was blown to the Cuduiari, where he formed the river. The other was blown to the Querari, where he formed the other river. As each man fell, his legs formed the mouth of the river, his outstretched arms two creeks, and his head a whirlpool. *Kiwai* then returned to his wife, who was now living alone. Later *Kiwai*, walking in the forest, passed a *wahóhahú* tree. Each time he passed it, it made a sucking sound at him. This happened day after day. Then it seemed to *Kiwai* that the tree was human, so he cut it down and carved a woman out of its trunk. *Koného*, a bird, came and opened up the woman's vagina. The

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woman was very pretty and *Kiūwai* was happy. He named her "Carved Woman." He took her home as his wife and drove out the other woman. *Mamūwū* came along and asked *Kiūwai*, "Are you living alone?" *Kiūwai* told him what had happened. This made *Mamūwū* angry and he took "Carved Woman" away from *Kiūwai*. Now *Kiūwai* lived alone and went about looking for another wife. He sat upon the branch of a tree and wept. Then along came Otter. He asked *Kiūwai* why he was weeping. *Kiūwai* told him that *Mamūwū* had taken away his wife. Otter then told *Kiūwai* where his wife was living. He led *Kiūwai* to a beautifully painted house that was under the river. There *Kiūwai* saw his wife. He seized her and fetched her home to Urania. One day *Kiūwai* saw an angry *Mamūwū* come after him. In fright *Kiūwai* leaped up and fled. He never returned. He is now living at Carurū on the Vaupés without a wife.

In another version *Kiūwai* cut down a tree and carved it into the form of a woman. He brought it to his grandmother and asked her to make all the body parts that belong to a woman. He returned to find that his grandmother had completed a beautiful woman. This woman did not know where she had come from. She went to the river to fetch water. An anaconda came by and copulated with her. Each day when she went for water the anaconda came and they copulated. *Kiūwai* noticed this. One day he watched, and when his wife and the anaconda were copulating, *Kiūwai* blew a dart from his blowgun very high into the air. It came down with great force, struck the anaconda in the back, and killed him. *Kiūwai* seized the anaconda and cut off his penis. He transformed it into four minnows which he gave to his wife to eat. As she ate the minnows, *Kiūwai* told her she was eating the penis of her lover. The woman spit out the food and went to the river to look for her lover, but he did not appear. *Kiūwai* then threw his wife away and she became a tree again.

In a third version the saddened wife, awaiting the return of her anaconda lover at the river, was disappointed when only a little anaconda "as thin as a string" appeared to tell her that her lover was dead.

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It is perhaps indicative of Cubeo attitudes on marital stability that *Kiūwai* is depicted as ultimately unsuccessful in marriage, and, disillusioned with the faithlessness of woman, retires to live in solitude on a nearby hilltop.

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The terms for spouse, *himanipako* (wife) and *himanipaku* (husband), denote the important emphasis in marriage. These terms mean literally "my children's mother" and "my children's father." Before children are born husband and wife address one another simply with the common expression hapyako (listen!).

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihl*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name _____, which was the name of _____." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urahana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our sib

The milk that is from this place that causes to grow

People who are our offspring

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

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They are given milk
 Milk of our soil
 Milk that causes to grow
 People who are being grown
 People of our soil
 People who are our younger sisters
 Milk of the calabash
 Milk that makes one grow quickly
 Milk of our soil
 People of our soil
 People who are our younger brothers
 The first one to grow fat
 He [also] will grow fat
 Milk that is nourishing
 Milk that is nourishing that will make [him] fat
 People of our soil
 Urahana who was the first to grow fat
 Milk that is nourishing
 He will grow fat
 Milk that is liquid
 Milk that is nourishing
 The manioc gruel that is nourishing
 Milk of our land
 People of our land
 Urahana was the first one
 The manioc gruel that he ate
 The milk that was given to him.

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Milk of our soil
 That our offspring may grow
 That we may all grow
 Milk of the calabash
 The offspring of Urahana*
 The calabash of Djurêdo
 When she [Djurêdo] saw the birth
 Milk to make it grow, she gave it
 Milk of the calabash it drank
 A child was being born to Urahana
 The offspring of Urahana
 The calabash of Djurêdo
 When she [Djurêdo] saw the birth
 Milk to make it grow, she gave it
 Milk of our soil
 She saw him grow
 The son of Hihêdê
 Her fat offspring
 Milk of our soil
 She saw them grow

* The first child was born to Hihêdêna Ancients Urahana and his wife Hihêdê. Djurêdo was the sister of Urahana and she gave the child milk drawn from her own breast into a calabash.

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Milk of the calabash
 Children of our soil
 She saw them grow
 Son of *Hihédü*
 Grew big and fat
 Son of *Urdhana*
 Grew big and fat
 This milk of the calabash
 He drank and grew
 She saw it.

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Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with bodily contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

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Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

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An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow
 (614) (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to
 (615) grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

(587) Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
 773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON

764 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
 537 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to be-
 539 hold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day.
 He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

[he shall be abandoned]. His flesh will not be firm, he will rot away. He shall not shorten the days of my life. This one here [the deceased], he has departed. We shall endure. That thoughtless person, he did it. That poison had no power to make us sick, but he died. We do not have such poison. Such is not with us. He is the one who died. He did not live long enough to go and walk with us. Now we do not have a companion. As he died, so we, too, are going to die in this evil land. Let us bury him in our house, under the earth. Let us cover him. He has poisoned us and so we have lost one of us. And so my father has died. Where shall I see my father? He is buried. He has gone. He is ended on this day. He made me a man, he left me as a male descendant. I am still here. My father, my father. It is as if I, too, had died. I, too, can go. I know how. I am a man. When I shall see him [the murderer] I shall confront him. He and I shall meet. He who poisoned my father. It is I who live here. He did not care to behold my father and so he did it. My father raised me here. In my own land, in my father's house I will continue to live. He died, but I am not dead. I am still here. My father reared me as a man. I am going to kill him who poisoned my father. He who did this. I will do the same thing to him. [He fires his gun.]

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FUNERAL ORATION BY A WIDOW

My husband has died. That evil person who did this to me, he, too, will die. We here shall not survive. He whom I wed at this place, my husband. Where shall I see him? They have buried him who was mine. He is gone now. It is finished. It is only today that he began to live here. They schemed, those who are of another place. They schemed about this, and so my own, my husband, has died. He died while with me. Now I remain a widow. Your father has died. Come and bury him. Your father said he had raised men as descendants of ours. My children, you are our men. They who did it did not care to behold your father and so now we are no more.

FUNERAL REMARKS OF A PHRATRY VISITOR

Over there where I live, I heard about it so I came to your house. Is it true you have lost your father? Where did you bury him? I heard about it over there where I live, so I came to your house. It is my privilege to shed tears for your father. Do not scheme revenge. He who killed him will also die. You and I, we have lost one of our own. We shall all die.

REPLY BY A SON

All right! Come in. I allowed my father—we allowed my father to die. In the same way that he died, we shall die. You have come from over there to shed tears. We are already finished, because we have lost one of ours. I allowed my father to die. As you have just spoken to me and asked, it is here that my father is buried. He did not last through the day. That evil one, he did not wish to behold us. He poisoned my father and that is why he died. Look over here [drawing the guest over to the grave]. Here is where he is. Here is where he is residing. Behold my father's house. My father has died. He is no longer alive. Badly he went.

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danced the jaguar. During the early part of the *dyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

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yavirü yavirü [repeated]
yavirü manika
yavirü ya
ho ho ho o ho.

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Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirü* means "big jaguar," and *manika* may mean "children."⁸ Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiari River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

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The mask of Butterfly (*Taldrako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kavir kavir* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiari.

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Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

⁸ The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *manika* may be a song (transformation). However, this translation is very uncertain.

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182 ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics,
614 and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disinte-
[615] grate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized
melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the sym-
bolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing
of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer.
For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the
dyne is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point
765 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for pre-
614 paring a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and
532 for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib
has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is
[203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, al-
though when the host issues the invitations to the *dyne*, he or his
messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the
purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will
(533) be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a
(535) mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted
(776) by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe
that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about
it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.
- 765 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor
535 a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general
152 order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of
mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the
ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An
ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of
dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional
level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE DYNE

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The Cubeo tradition of the *dyne* is as follows. There was a time
when people did not die and there were then very many people. One
morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copu-
lated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told
what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him
out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling
ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very
thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in
his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

THE MOURNING CEREMONY

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"*Dekókú*' has punished you." Then other people came and wrapped the boy in his hammock, put him into a large jar, and buried him in the house. No one wept. After three days an old man began to think what people should do about death. They decided to have an *óyne*. They made dance masks. At first they did not know how to make bark cloth so they made masks of leaves. *Kúwai* came and told them this was not good. In one day *Kúwai* made all the bark-cloth masks for the people. They did not know how to paint the masks and *Kúwai* showed them how. They gathered red pigment and carbon soot, and by midday the masks were all finished. *Kúwai* climbed the duka tree. At the top he cut off the bark and brought it down to make the fringes for the skirt and sleeves. The people then divided the maloca into a men's and women's part. In the men's part an old woman sat down to sing. But soon the real *Xudjiko* came along singing and the people were frightened. But *Kúwai* said, "Don't be afraid. This old woman is *Xudjiko*, who has come to help you weep." The old lady ran away and *Xudjiko* took her place. Then *Kúwai* said, "When other people die do the same thing. Weep for a short time only." He told them to dance and sing. When they had finished *Xudjiko* went away. She no longer comes. Instead they make a horn.

Xudjiko and her consort live at Uaracupuri, the source of the Cubeo. They were the first of the Ancients to die and they were the first to make the bark-cloth masks. The headpieces of the masks are set with feathers; the most prominent vertical feather is said to represent *Xudjikú* and the most prominent horizontal feather is said to represent *Xudjiko*.⁸

RITUAL THEMES IN THE ÓYNE

The five main sets of characters in the *óyne* each represent then one major ritual theme: the women represent weeping; the masks, the concern of the living world for the deceased as well as for the living; the minnows, the boisterous character of young men;

⁸ The term means "ghost" or "spirit" but it has here the connotation of "Great Spirit." However, since I did not learn of a Cubeo belief in a Great Spirit the allusion is puzzling, and is to be considered as unexplained.

⁹ The apparent inconsistency between this account and the previous one referring to *Kúwai* illustrates two strands in Cubeo mythical thought. One strand, nonancestral, focuses on *Kúwai*, a figure of the Arawakan tribes. The other strand is ancestral and is, perhaps, truly Tucanoan. The Cubeo do not reconcile both strands. The question of which version is produced depends on the context, which may be either general or ancestral.

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at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pend*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekôpwânwa*. Suddenly *Kômi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kômi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kômi* told them to take him to a creek called *Mandukanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kômi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the *Cuduiari* from Arawakan Indians by way of the *Querari*.

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Curare (himâ) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

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As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutrâdû*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

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The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The non-human spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

Tucano

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That evening the conversation turned to rubber, the exploitation of the Indians and the atrocities. There had been two booms in the area. The first died out with the end of the First World War and the increased production in Malaya. Then with the Japanese occupation of South-East Asia during the Second World War, attention again switched to the Amazon and this continued into the fifties. Now only small interests remain and although the Indians are well paid and housed, the old fear of the *caucheros* is still there and many prefer to live their own lives.

Carlos told us that he had sixteen Indians working for him. Most of them only worked during the summer months - from November to March - when the forest was drier. If there was rain the latex from the wild rubber could not be collected. During the winter months the Indians returned to their homes to attend to their *chagras*. The men cut traces through the forest at fifty-yard intervals within easy shouting distance of one another, so that none of the trees are missed. Each morning they place small wooden cups beneath a fresh slash in the bark, returning later to empty the latex into rubber bags slung on their backs. A different section of the forest is covered each day until the cycle is completed and they start again. When the rubber is brought back to the house formic acid is added, though any organic acid can be used, even lemon juice. This coagulates the rubber which is then rolled into sheets, some of which Carlos showed us hanging from the roof-beams of his house.

At the end of a season's gathering the rubber is shipped in bales up the Caquetá to Araracuara. From there it is flown to the merchants in Bogotá - usually in May and June - and Carlos added, 'This is about the only time in the year when I see civilization. To save costs we arrange that the plane brings all our supplies and merchandise for the next year on its inward journey. These are mainly for the Indians, for there is nothing he can buy with money here, so I keep a small trade store.'

000 Later Carlos spoke of the Missing Link or Loys' Ape, which he maintained lived in the area. Three years before, one of his young workers was out in his rubber trace when he was suddenly attacked by a beast, which held him fastened to the ground all night. The boy who had fainted from fear, was found the next day and brought to Carlos's house where he took forty-eight hours to recover. He was thoroughly washed but the foul smell of the beast was impossible to remove. Several rubber gatherers claim to have seen the ape in the area of the Miritiparaná. Something very similar has also been reported from the Llanos, in the wooded river valleys near the Orinoco.

● 537 Stories of the half-human ape are as common as those of lost cities, the Amazonian women and the tribes of white Indians who hunt by night. All occur in the myth and legends of the tribes. But to hear a first-hand account of this ape-man from a reliable witness was unusual.

114 Before dawn we set off down river in Carlos's long, narrow, shallow-draught Caquetá boat, faster and more graceful than the stouter ones of the